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ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W  
-----64030B 031746Z /38

O 031749Z AUG 94  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2082  
INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE  
JTF SUPPORT HOPE KELLY BARRACKS GE//COS/JOC/J3// IMMEDIATE  
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5// IMMEDIATE  
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USUN FOR ALBRIGHT

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ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECLOADR

TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, MASS, EAID, AORC, RW CG UN  
SUBJECT: MGRW02: THERE'S NO QUICK FIX IN RWANDA:  
SERIOUS PROBLEMS REMAIN AFTER RWANDA PLEDGING CONFERENCE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE. SEE PARA 10.
3. USDEL TO THE 8/2 RWANDA PLEDGING CONFERENCE -- AID  
CHIEF OF STAFF MCCALL, PRM A/S-DESIGNATE OAKLEY,  
AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL AND OTHERS -- HELD EXTENSIVE PRIVATE  
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE KEY INTERNATIONAL AGENCY PLAYERS IN  
THE RWANDA CRISIS. WE MET WITH THE HEADS OF THE UN  
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DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS, UN HIGH COMMISSIONER  
FOR REFUGEES, WORLD FOOD PROGRAM, INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION, INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF  
THE RED CROSS, INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF RED CROSS AND  
RED CRESCENT SOCIETIES, AND U.N. VOLUNTEERS.

4. OUR GENERAL CONCLUSION IS THAT THERE WILL BE NO  
QUICK FIX IN RWANDA, DESPITE THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE  
CONFERENCE.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE COORDINATION INSIDE RWANDA - WHO  
IS IN CHARGE?

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5. PROGRESS WAS MADE, BUT THERE'S STILL A LONG WAY TO  
GO. U/SYG PETER HANSEN OF UN/DHA, AFTER HAVING MET WITH  
VARIOUS AGENCY HEADS IN GENEVA, IS ASSUMING THE  
COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF INSIDE RWANDA.  
HOWEVER, COORDINATION MECHANISMS AND THE DIVISION OF  
LABOR AMONG AGENCIES ARE STILL BEING SORTED OUT BY  
HANSEN (WHO PROMISES A PRELIMINARY MATRIX BY 8/15).  
UNHCR'S OGATA MAKES IT CLEAR THAT HER MANDATE COVERS ALL  
REFUGEES OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY AS WELL AS THEIR  
REPATRIATION TO RWANDA, WHILE SHE EXPRESSES CONCERN

PRIVATELY THAT DHA MAY NOT BE UP TO THE JOB INSIDE  
RWANDA. MORE THAN RIVALRY, THIS GOES TO THE HEART OF  
THE ISSUE -- CAPACITY TO ORGANIZE AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE  
TO A COMPLEX HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY. THE USG MAY EVEN  
WISH TO CONSIDER SUGGESTING TO THE UN SYG THAT HE ENSURE  
THAT THERE IS AN OVERALL COORDINATOR BASED IN KIGALI  
WITH HIGH VISIBILITY TO BRING TOGETHER HUMANITARIAN,  
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POLITICAL AND PEACEKEEPING PORTFOLIOS; PERHAPS SRSG KHAN  
HAS THIS ROLE NOW, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR.

HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS AND THE STABILITY OF RWANDA  
-----

6. THERE IS AN INEXTRICABLE LINK BETWEEN PROSPECTS FOR  
REPATRIATION AND THE LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE  
INSIDE RWANDA. THE CONSENSUS AMONG OBSERVERS IS THAT

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TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, MASS, EAID, AORC, RW CG UN  
SUBJECT: MGRW02: THERE'S NO QUICK FIX IN RWANDA:

REFUGEES WILL NOT RETURN IN LARGE NUMBERS WITHOUT  
GUARANTEES OF STABILITY INSIDE RWANDA. THIS REQUIRES AN  
IMMEDIATE, MULTI-LAYERED EFFORT THAT WOULD INCLUDE RAPID

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DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS (TO REASSURE HUTU REFUGEES ON SECURITY ISSUES) AS WELL AS DECISIVE AND WELL-PUBLICIZED ACTION TO SET IN MOTION A MECHANISM TO BRING TO JUSTICE THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH DUE PROCESS AND THE NORMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY (TO REASSURE THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S INTENTIONS

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AND CONCERN). ANOTHER CRITICAL FACTOR, OF COURSE, IS THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR, ESPECIALLY IN THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONE.

7. EVEN WITH SUCH STABILIZING INFLUENCES IN PLACE -- AND THEY WILL TAKE WEEKS IF NOT MONTHS TO CREATE -- WE AGREE WITH THE ADVICE OF THE MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE OBSERVERS: MAYBE 700,000 REFUGEES WILL REMAIN IN ZAIRE, TANZANIA, BURUNDI AND UGANDA FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THEY WILL REMAIN THERE AT THE DEMAND OF THEIR HUTU LEADERS; THEIR RETURN MAY NOT DEPEND ENTIRELY ON THE SECURITY SITUATION INSIDE RWANDA AND MAY INSTEAD HINGE ON THEIR DESIRE TO REMOVE THE RPF FROM POWER. THE COMPLEXITIES OF GENERATIONS-OLD POLITICAL REALITIES ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA MUST BE BETTER INCORPORATED INTO U.S. AND UN AGENCY PLANNING FOR DURABLE SOLUTIONS. UNHCR, E.G., DOES NOT YET HAVE A CLEAR HANDLE ON HOW TO DEAL WITH EITHER HUTU EXTREMISTS OR FORMER MEMBERS OF THE ARMY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS.

#### MOBILIZING RESOURCES

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8. ON A MORE POSITIVE NOTE, ALL INVOLVED CONSIDER THE PLEDGING CONFERENCE TO HAVE BEEN A SUCCESS IN FOCUSING GOVERNMENTS' ATTENTION AND MOBILIZING RESOURCES. AS AT ANY PLEDGING CONFERENCE, IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN IMMEDIATELY THE EXACT AMOUNT OF NEW MONEY PLEDGED VS. OLD MONEY ALREADY COMMITTED. PETER HANSEN OFFERED PRELIMINARY FUNDING FIGURES AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE: OF THE USD 434 MILLION APPEAL, USD 137

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MILLION WAS PLEDGED. IN-KIND CONTRIBUTIONS, SERVICES,  
AND BILATERAL FUNDING PLEDGED TOTAL USD 437 MILLION,  
MOST OF WHICH IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE APPEAL.

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THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE  
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9. THE PROBLEMS OF RWANDA WILL CONTINUE, AND WE SHOULD  
NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES INTO THINKING THAT REPATRIATION OF  
TWO MILLION REFUGEES WILL TAKE PLACE QUICKLY. WE  
CAUTION ABOUT RAISING PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS IN THE U.S.

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TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, MASS, EAID, AORC, RW CG UN  
SUBJECT: MGRW02: THERE'S NO QUICK FIX IN RWANDA:

THAT MASSIVE REPATRIATION COULD OCCUR IMMINENTLY. THERE  
IS MUCH TO DISCUSSED IN THE COMING DAYS AND WEEKS AS  
U/SYG HANSEN AND THE UN AGENCIES FURTHER REFINE THEIR  
PLANS. IN THE MEANTIME, OF COURSE, THE EFFORT TO  
PROVIDE IMMEDIATE RELIEF TO EASTERN ZAIRE CONTINUES.  
OGATA EXTENSIVELY PRAISED THE USG MILITARY AND CIVILIAN  
SUPPORT FOR THE RELIEF OPERATION.

10. THERE ARE A FEW USG ACTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED WHICH  
WOULD BEGIN TO ADDRESS SOME OF THE ISSUES RAISED:

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-- THE USAID OFFICE OF TRANSITION INITIATIVES SHOULD FUND A SIGNIFICANT PORTION (SAY, 30 PERCENT) OF THE USD 2.1 MILLION APPEAL FROM THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS INSIDE RWANDA;

-- THE USG ALSO SHOULD FUND A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE PROPOSAL BY THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES TO ESTABLISH A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION COORDINATING STRUCTURE IN RWANDA THAT WOULD WORK CLOSELY WITH THE UN RWANDA EMERGENCY OFFICE (UNREO);

-- THE USAID DART TEAM SHOULD CONSIDER SECONDING SEVERAL OF ITS DART TEAM MEMBERS TO THE UNREO IN KIGALI TO ENSURE THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE INSIDE RWANDA; AND

-- WE NEED TO MOBILIZE THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS TO CONTINUE GIVING A HIGH PROFILE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S CONCERNS FOR PUNISHMENT OF PAST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND PREVENTION OF FUTURE ONES IN RWANDA. AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL WILL MEET WITH HCHR AYALA-LASSO ON FRIDAY TO DISCUSS A DETAILED PLAN OF ACTION.

11. WE WILL SEND COMPLETE REPORTS OF PLEDGING CONFERENCE DELIBERATIONS AND USDEL PRIVATE MEETINGS VIA SEPTELS.

12. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SPIEGEL

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